4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

000 women. In this way there are generally two sides fighting each other before the day is over, and they stay there and fight until one side has won. If the tribal council wins and succeeds in burning the house of the murderer, it burns the rest of the houses of the *bone* as well, and cuts down as many of its trees as it desires.

The *bone* then flees in a body to another fifth, to another tribe, or out of the Rif entirely. If the members, thinking already of vengeance, cannot stand the sight of their trees being cut down and their houses caved in, they select a bull from the herd which they are driving into exile with them and entrust it to the leader of the mosque or to a student, who leads it back into the presence of the tribal council and slaughters it there [thereby "casting" an *'ar* upon them]. If this is done the tribal council is compelled to let them go back again and to permit them to pay the fine. Once the bull is slaughtered the tree-cutting and other destruction must cease. Many *bones* are too proud either to pay or to send a bull, so that they become destitute and homeless through their pride, providing they are not strong enough to defend themselves against the tribal council... (Coon, 1931, pp. 104-105).

628 As a result of these attitudes and institutions, vendetta warfare was the normal state of existence throughout much of the Berber highlands before the French Protectorate (Loubignac, 1942, p. 286).

d. *Council Presidents or "Chiefs"*

623 554 634 635 As indicated above, almost all representative councils have presiding officers known variously as *moqademin* (pl. of *moqaddem*), *imgharin* (pl. of *amghar*), or *shiukh* (pl. of *sheikh*). In the traditional Berber republic this individual was only *primus inter pares*; he executed the wishes of the council, and he depended largely upon his personal qualities of moderation, persuasion, intelligence, and good luck. If he attempted to abuse his power the council punished him by a heavy fine, by burning his house or tent, or even putting him to death. Despite the threat of these sanctions, the tribal or district *jemaa* usually had to watch its president most carefully lest he usurp power or establish himself permanently (Doutté, 1905; Montagne, 1930, pp. 224-225).

[687] 634 635 554

The powers and functions of the council president throughout most of the Berber country have been well described by Loubignac, who we will here follow closely. Of the various council presidents the most important were those of the independent district (among